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Péter Csaba Kocsis

The potential of social pedagogy in the development of segregated
areas

A targeted programme for the reduction of territorial disparities and its
experiences in the context of sectoral (educational and social)
cooperation, based on the case of three settlements

Doctoral (PhD) Dissertation

Supervisor:

Dr. habil. Tibor Cserti Csapó

Associate Professor

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1. Justification for choosing the topic

The issue of social inequalities is one of the most pressing challenges facing Hungarian society today. After the regime change, both spatial disparities and social inequalities have increased, and within the education sector this has had an impact. One of the causes of spatial inequalities can be seen as a result of economic change, the loss of former jobs and limited access to services. Another cause - or consequence - is the widening of territorial disparities, which particularly affects the regions of Northern Hungary, the Northern Lowlands (Great Plain – “Alföld”) and Southern Transdanubia. The ageing of Hungarian society, population movements in these regions and the narrowing of social mobility pathways have led to the transformation of local societies, in many areas creating the features of settlements with a changing ethnic character. A striking consequence of this is that settlements are experiencing population turnover, with the more highly qualified population with better labour market potential moving from small settlements to nearby towns, county capitals or even the capital Budapest, thus contributing to the transformation of the local community, which has sometimes caused ethnically significant changes in the composition of the population. The emigration of higher-status groups is typically replaced by the arrival of low-status populations excluded from the labour market, which further isolates them and creates ghetto settlements and ghettoised areas.

One of the results of this process is the emergence of segregated neighbourhoods, settlements and areas in different parts of the country. This in itself raises serious social and policy issues, as spatial segregation is usually associated with lower levels of employment, less favourable educational outcomes and weaker pathways to further education. This process has received increasing attention in the post transition period, but it is not new: the problem of segregated living conditions emerged as one of the social policy issues to be addressed in Hungary already in the decades after World War II, not as a territorial divide but as a complex issue of the Roma community in Hungary, with housing and the low educational attainment of the Roma population being the main focus areas. The interventions were rarely implemented with the involvement of the people concerned, and their effectiveness was also questionable, although they cannot be deemed completely ineffective.

In my dissertation, I analysed desegregation programmes aimed at the elimination of social equality from the perspective of educational sociology, seeking answers to the question of what objectives of desegregation programmes of the last decade and a half were reflected in the desegregation programmes, to what extent they were based on the approach and practice of integrated education, and what cooperation practices were developed between local stakeholders in the programmes in order to increase the rates and outlook of school completion in segregated areas. I focused on these programmes because they use a complex intervention logic to support the services that can be provided to people living in the segregated areas, focusing on social, educational, health and community development services, according to local needs. In my study, I focused on exploring the collaborations that took place within the programmes. I had to limit my analysis to those initiatives that were implemented after the adoption of the Decade of Roma Inclusion 2005-2015, focusing on the period of 2014-2020.

In my dissertation, I sought to answer the question whether the principles of local planning, community involvement and rational planning of local capacities were implemented in the settlements covered by the Settlement Programme, and if so, what was the process of this. I conducted field research in three settlements, Jánoshida, Pocsaj and Vizsoly, as it would be far beyond the scope of this study to cover the entire population (109 settlements).

2. Research questions

The focus of my study was on the cooperation between the municipalities involved in the planning, implementation and maintenance of the settlements enrolled in the settlement programmes. In order to investigate these collaborations, it was essential to map the main characteristics, sociological and statistical indicators of local societies, which provided the conceptual framework for my further studies.

Research questions:

1. What are the characteristics of the local Roma community, what is the collective memory of the last decades in concerned settlements?
2. What are the educational, social and employment characteristics of the settlement?
3. What were the results of previous integration practices in the settlement's public education institutions that became sustainable?
4. Which of the integration practices of public education institutions have become part of the daily routine of the institution after the end of the funding period?
5. How were the stakeholders of the settlement involved in the planning and implementation of the programme, and what are the tasks that the institution will carry out after the closure of the projects, either through its own capacities or from those developed during the programme?
6. For settlement programmes with a complex intervention toolkit, what were the previous practices that were incorporated into the programme as "good practices" and what were the settlement programme elements that supported this process?
7. To what extent did the implementation of the settlement programme contribute to local integration objectives, how did these contribute to the ongoing work in public education institutions, and what cooperation features can be identified.

3. Research methodology

I used a multidisciplinary social science methodological toolkit in my research. In addition to analysing policy documents and related calls for tenders related to the settlement programmes, I examined the basic indicators of the settlements involved in the implementation of the programme: census data, including data on total population, religious affiliation and minority. For almost all of the settlement programmes, the settlement data from the National Segregation Database (NSD) were also available, and these were compared with the census data in order to get an idea of the number of ethnicities

and the number of people living in segregated or at risk of being segregated areas in the settlements concerned.

For the settlements where there was a public education institution, I examined the data series on disadvantaged and severely disadvantaged children in the education statistics for the 2011/2012 school year, the closest to the 2011 census, using the KIRSTAT database. By analysing the data series, I compared the data on children who identify themselves as Roma, those living in segregated or segregation-prone areas, as well as disadvantaged and severely disadvantaged children in kindergartens and schools.

After examining the data of all the settlements concerned, the three settlements that were selected for the fieldwork of the dissertation were chosen. They are located in three counties of the country: Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok county (Jánoshida), Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county (Vizsoly) and Hajdú-Bihar county (Pocsaj).

In addition to analysing the data from the settlements, I examined the Community Intervention Plan, one of the basic documents available for settlement programmes. This document, in addition to identifying local characteristics, formulated the programme components that would help to improve the situation of the community living in segregated living conditions. In the document analysis, the focus of my research was on the planned collaborations. In order to develop the criteria for this part of the study, I examined the forms of integration and cooperation previously developed in the education and social sectors. The relevance and results of the Integrated Pedagogical System methodology, considered a major innovation in the field of education, have been supported by several studies, but in terms of my topic I have limited my focus on the models of cooperation that emerged there. Inter-professional cooperation in the social sector is another explanatory model in which similar aspirations can be observed.

For the selected settlements, I reviewed the local equal opportunities programmes and the Community Intervention Plans (CIPs) related to the settlement programmes, which contain the detailed technical programme of the applications, using the document analysis method.

The fieldwork involved the recording of structured interviews compiled as a result of documentary analysis. For each settlement, I tried to contact the actors identified in the CIP, but in case of failure to do so, I also tried to interview the head of the settlement, the heads of the public education institutions, the professional project leader of the programme, the heads of the Roma national self-government and, if possible, the target group members involved in the programme.

4. Settlements involved in the study – population and sample

The above research questions focused on the cooperation between the settlement programmes and local institutions. The reason for this is that the basic problems of people living in segregated areas can be interpreted through education, an indicator that is also

taken into account by the HCSO (Hungarian Central Statistical Office) when delimiting areas. Our thinking is that if local education can do its job effectively, children's performance at school will prepare them for secondary education. In addition, if methods are found to reduce dropout rates from secondary school, the population concerned will have a greater chance of social mobility, which, once they have attained higher levels of education, will lead to higher incomes and the possibility of moving out of extreme poverty and ultimately to middle class integration.

Among the settlement programmes, I examined two schemes from two EU funding cycles. In the period of 2007-2013, the TÁMOP-5.3.6. Complex Settlement Programme (providing access to complex human services), and in the period of 2014-2020, the schemes EFOP-1.6.2 Tackling Segregated Living Situations through complex programmes (ESZA) were available for settlements to implement complex services and social integration programmes for people living in segregated areas and areas at risk of segregation, by municipalities and the partners involved. In the first period, only a few municipalities, while in the second period all municipalities were required to carry out infrastructure interventions to improve housing and living conditions.

The first step in the selection of the settlements concerned was to extract the winning settlements from the Széchenyi2020 application database. A total of 25 settlements participated in the TÁMOP-5.3.6 scheme and 97 settlements in the EFOP-1.6.2 scheme. In the latter case, it was also possible for municipalities that had already implemented a similar type of programme to apply. In total there were 13 settlements where this type of development had already taken place. In total, 109 settlements were included in the data analyses and three were selected for fieldwork.

In selecting the settlements for the study, I narrowed down the focus to only small settlements. The justification for this was as follows:

- Several studies (also cited in the paper) point out that the situation of the Roma population in small settlements is less favourable than in urban areas, so the question of how these settlements can make use of the available resources under the subsidiarity principle is a fundamental question.
- When examining cooperation, I assumed that the communication between local communities and institutions in small villages is less formalised, and therefore we find living, functioning patterns of cooperation.
- The size of the development funds presents small villages with challenges they have not had the experience to deal with, here they have been able to access almost HUF 400 million in funding in connection with the two programmes, which can only be used effectively if they can develop the appropriate human infrastructure.
- Last but not least, the mechanisms of cooperation in the case of small villages are easy to follow and their results are visible and tangible for the community on the whole.

5. Research hypotheses

In the context of this research, I formulated the following hypotheses:

1. The efficient use of the funding provided for small settlements, which is even higher than the municipalities' own yearly budget, can be achieved if the involvement of local stakeholders in the programme already starts out at the planning stage. In relation to municipalities where external services - i.e., application writing companies - carry out the project planning tasks, the community planning aspect is compromised.
2. Already-existing active forms of cooperation at the local level reinforce the professional content of the projects, and the individual programme components also reflect local needs, bearing in mind the needs of the institutions, the target group and the specific requirements of the calls for proposals.
3. During the implementation of the programme, forms of active cooperation will be developed which, if they reflect the needs of the institutions, will allow the sustainability of the services developed after funding for the programme finished, without additional financial resources involved.
4. Previous IPS practices and inter-professional cooperation in the social sector provide municipalities with a model and a method for cost-effective development of local community needs, institutional communication and local services. Where such cooperation remains at the level of formality, programmes operate in isolation and do not achieve the desired/expected development impacts.

6. Results

6.1 Forms of cooperation in the education and social sectors

The fundamental question of my study was to investigate the cooperation of local stakeholders within the framework of the settlement programme. In the approach of these programmes, in addition to identifying the problems and needs of groups living in segregated contexts, local resource-based developments, local innovations and services can provide answers. In mapping the patterns of cooperation, I have reviewed, without claiming to be exhaustive, three practices that provided a theoretical framework for cooperation and, in the case of the three settlements, an examination of their implementation in practice.

The model of the General Cultural Centres (GCC) has been spreading in Hungary since the 1970s. At their core, they are institutions based on the needs of the local community, providing them with local innovations and interconnectivity between primary services. The initiative democratised the school, allowing all members of the local community to participate in its activities, in addition to the pupils (Eszik et al., 1989; Szabó, 2002; Tarcsa, 2010; Szabó, 2011; Trencsényi - Nagy, 2016). Good practices of the GCC can also be observed: in addition to strengthening cooperation between different sectoral stakeholders

and the efficient use of resources, a strong emphasis was placed on the development of community life, and methodological innovations were introduced. The experience of GCCs has shown that the new approach has been able to reach different groups of pupils, including disadvantaged children (Pócze - Trencsényi, 1997).

I also considered the Integrated Pedagogical System (IPS), which emerged in the 2000s and then expanded, to be important for the research. From our point of view, it was particularly important that the system of cooperation - which had already emerged - was also taken to a new level. The educational work in the school was not only understood as an isolated and unchallenged process of the school, but also included cooperation with partner organisations, with organisations outside the school, but also with organisations linked to the institution. These organisations supported educational practice. The situation of disadvantaged and severely disadvantaged and/or Roma children, their visible segregation, their segregated education and the serious social consequences of this were no longer a matter of debate at the time of the implementation, as several fundamental studies (Havas - Liskó, 2005; Havas - Kemény - Liskó, 2001; Kertesi - Kézdi, 2009; Kozma - Forray, 1999) have shown. According to them, there is a strong correlation between the school career of the pupils concerned and their later employment and thus the recurrence of poverty. The resources and related policy objectives became one of the most significant opportunity programmes in domestic public education until the mid-2000s (Varga, 2016; Zolnay, 2015; Varga, 2018).

In addition to the pedagogical work in the school, it was essential to maintain contact with parents and to establish cooperation. In the methodological guides to the programme, several actors were named, such as the family (the parental home), the family support and child welfare services, professional and specialised services, secondary education institutions, Roma national self-governments, NGOs and later churches that were considered as natural partners in the professional concepts, thus ensuring the success of the education of disadvantaged children. Research on the effectiveness of IPS (Kézdi - Surányi, 2008; Reszkető et al., 2010; Varga, 2016) has demonstrated the validity of this methodology.

In the social sector, the promotion of cooperation has also emerged as a way of ensuring efficient service delivery. A significant number of clients in the social sector are disadvantaged, severely disadvantaged and/or Roma children and their parents. In addition to the different intervention models, the development of complex ways of providing assistance, which cannot be provided alone but only in cooperation with partners, as inter-professional cooperation, is also a fundamental issue in the field of social work or social pedagogy (Budai - Puli, 2015a; Budai - Puli, 2015b; Budai - Puli 2021). In the social sector, collaborations are inter-professional partnerships between service users, professionals and services, in which stakeholders can build on local communities, neighbourhoods and NGOs. The activities can be integrated into the content of the so-called "inter-model" in the social sector. The idea is that, by improving cooperation between various actors in the sector in order to provide care for clients, the cooperation itself can be raised to a higher

level, thus improving the quality of care provided to clients and the optimal use of available resources. The model identifies the potential for collaboration in four areas, including: 1) collaboration between individuals; 2) collaboration between professionals (inter-professional collaboration itself); 3) inter-disciplinary collaboration between professional groups; 4) collaboration between service providers and services (Budai, 2015).

The importance of cooperation can be identified in both the education and social sectors. The development of inter-professional cooperation in the education sector, which started in the first half of the 2000s, and the emergence of inter-professional cooperation in the social sector have both set the objective of developing cooperation within local communities. In the field of education, reaching out to external partners implied disseminating the educational process and mobilising the resources of the partners. In the social sector, the main objective was to optimise resources and improve the quality of services. This has become a natural area of cooperation for public education institutions in the field of school social work. In our research, we focused on the practice of cooperation with regards to the design, implementation and maintenance of programmes.

6.2 Research results at the local level

In the study I examined three settlements, located in three counties in two regions of Hungary. These were, in the order of processing in the dissertation, Jász-Nagykun Szolnok county (Jánoshida), Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county (Vizsoly) and Hajdú-Bihar county (Pocsaj).

For the processing of the settlement characteristics, I processed data at the county, regional and settlement level, examining the number and proportion of minorities and especially that of Roma in the region and settlements, in addition to the entire population. In the case of settlement characteristics, local census data, segregation indicators for the settlement and data on disadvantaged and severely disadvantaged pupils in public education institutions were processed. In each of the settlements, the Community Intervention Plan related to the settlement programme was examined, and interviews were conducted with the heads of the public education institutions, where possible with the municipal leadership, and data on the local Roma community were also collected. The research then examined the cooperation features of the settlement programme in terms of the three phases distinguishable along the programmes. The first was the preparation phase, in which the context identification and programme design took place. Within the implementation phase, I examined which local organisations were involved in the implementation of the programmes and, if any, what their roles were. The third phase looked at the post-programme maintenance period in the context of whether there were any tasks that were carried out by a partner after the funding for the programmes ran out.

In the following I will briefly summarise the characteristics of each settlement and then present the research findings on cooperation collectively.

Jánoshida, in Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok County, was a settlement where the educational experience of the previous years and the application of the Integrated Pedagogical System methodology had already become a practice from the 2000s, the local primary school also functioned as a base school, and the integration programme was in operation from the early 2000s until the programme was discontinued. According to the census data, 320 inhabitants of the settlement identified themselves as Roma, a higher number than according to the NSD data, while interviewees reported a Roma proportion of about 30% living in the settlement. The proportion of disadvantaged and severely disadvantaged children in public education institutions was higher until the change in the law on the establishment of disadvantaged status, after which the proportion of HH/HHH (disadvantaged/severely disadvantaged) children dropped dramatically, but despite this, the teachers interviewed reported a Roma proportion of almost 80% in kindergartens and schools. The increase in the proportion of Roma children in schools has triggered an exodus from local institutions, which has been felt most by the primary school, as some of the non-disadvantaged children have transferred to schools in the neighbouring settlement. The institution has been working to improve the quality of education by developing local innovations through the IPS, and the results have been visible: absence from school has decreased, the retention rate has improved, and all teachers have attended and applied methodological training in their daily pedagogical practice. Within the IPS, cooperation with local stakeholders was also developed, including functional relations with local NGOs, churches, the Roma national self-government, the civil guard, the old pensioners' club, while the municipality supported the IPS process with its own resources.

Vizsoly, a small village in Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County, has now a population of less than 1000, with 795 inhabitants in 2020. According to HCSO data, 282 people declared themselves as Roma in 2011. If we compare these data with the segregation indicators, we can see that the HCSO has delimited one segregated area and two areas at risk of segregation in the settlement. The population in the segregated area in 2011 was 284, which is already higher than the 282 measured, and including the areas at risk, a total of 384 people live in a segregated or at risk area. Among the public education institutions, the kindergarten has been under the Roman Catholic Church for a few years, while the primary school is under the school district centre. The data on disadvantaged and severely disadvantaged children and pupils show a high proportion of disadvantaged and severely disadvantaged children and pupils in the institutions, which can be explained by the demographic trends present in the settlement. In the post-regime period, the local middle class has steadily moved out of the settlement, those who stayed have taken jobs in other settlements, which typically means that their children have to attend nursery school and school in other settlements, which has led to a concentration of HH/HHH (disadvantaged/severely disadvantaged) children attending local institutions. Institutions here have also participated in the IPS, some elements of which are still in operation today. Among the collaborations, the local Roma national self-government was highlighted, with which, although it started with some conflict, the relationship was normalised and maintained after the end of the IPS.

The third settlement, Pocsaj in Hajdú-Bihar County, had a population of 2,529. According to HCSO data, 569 people declared themselves as Roma in 2011, but based on NSD data we can assume 760 people as segregated, with local estimates putting the proportion of the local Roma community at around 30%. In public education institutions, the predominance of Roma children was reported by interviewees, less noticeable even in kindergarten, and then increasing in primary school. Here again, the change in pupil ratios is made more difficult by the transfer of children to other settlements. The integrated pedagogical approach was introduced in the early 2000s in the settlement, mainly in the kindergarten and lower primary school under the Step by Step programme, but these efforts came to an end after a change of the head teacher in the institutions which were then under the same management. The impact is being felt in the kindergarten, where the previously introduced programme is also reflected in the institution's curriculum.

A common feature of the three settlements is that the proportion of Roma population is higher than the figures reported by the HCSO, which is confirmed by the NSD data as well as local subjective estimates. The proportion of disadvantaged and severely disadvantaged children in public education institutions is high, as confirmed by locally collected information, even in Jánoshida, where the statistical indicators were lower but the majority of children attending school were in fact Roma.

During the institutional interviews, the same problems were identified by the interviewees in all three settlements, including: socio-cultural disadvantages of children/students; difficulties in maintaining contact with families; conflicts within the institution (between teachers and parents and between children); emigration from the settlement (and thus from the educational institution); the problem of school drop-outs; the problem of lack of further education (early school leaving without qualifications).

In the case of public education institutions, integration programmes started to appear in the early 2000s, but in the case of Pocsaj this stopped already in the second half of the decade, while in the case of Jánoshida and Vizsoly it happened after the central closure of the IPS programme. The cooperation was developed according to the standards of the previous practice, which functioned, i.e. the municipalities had practices in place.

All three settlements fall into the category of small settlements, and Jánoshida appears to be better off in terms of location. While in general low local incomes, and the lack of employment opportunities for low-status residents characterise all of them.

6.3 Results of the study of cooperation

In this dissertation, the characteristics of the cooperation were examined in relation to the settlement programmes of each municipality. Only those practices where an initiative was taken by one of the participants (the beneficiaries of the programme: the municipality or a consortium partner) towards local stakeholders, in particular public education institutions, were considered as cooperation. Another important aspect of the research was to identify

the patterns of cooperation that had emerged in the past along the lines of integration practices in the field of education.

In the analysis, we basically classified cooperations into three categories: firstly, where we found no evidence or data for cooperation; secondly (weak cooperations), where formal cooperation was established but these were merely weak and ad hoc links; while the third category (strong cooperations) was applied to those forms of cooperation where evidence of strong cooperation was found within the programme.

The analysis of cooperation patterns revealed that in all three settlements the planning task was carried out by an external actor. It is understandable that there was a strong relationship with these actors on the part of the municipality, but, perhaps more importantly, the external experts did not always involve local actors in the planning process. The relationships between the different stakeholders are summarised in the table below. The results typically show a lack of cooperation. In the table, I have used the term 'IPS' to summarise the experience of educational integration, while the term settlement refers to the cooperation of the programmes studied. There were many forms of stakeholders available in the municipalities, here I present the types of stakeholders that occurred, grouping them together.¹

Potential stakeholders	Jánoshida		Vizsoly		Pocsaj	
	IPS (O+I)	Settlement	IPS (O+I)	Settlement	SSP* (O)	Settlement
External	–	++	–	++	–	++
Child	+	+	+	+	–	++
Roma National Self-government	+	+	+	+	–	++
Government Labour Office	–	+	–	+	–	+
Guidance	+	–	+	–	–	–
Secondary	+	–	–	–	–	–
Kindergarden	++	–	++	–	NR	++
Primary	NR	–	NR	–	+	(+)+

¹ For example, the IPS partnered with the local pensioners' club, the civil guard, individual local organisations, which I have summarised as "local NGOs".

Potential stakeholders	Jánoshida		Vizsoly		Pocsaj	
	IPS (O+I)	Settlement	IPS (O+I)	Settlement	SSP* (O)	Settlement
Health visitor	+	-	+	-	+	++
Municipality	++	++	+	++	+	++
Local NGO	++	++	++	+	-	++
External	-	++	-	++	-	++
Local church	-	-	-	-	-	+
SzGyF (TEK) regional organisation	NR	-	NR	++	NR	+

Cooperation characteristics of the surveyed municipalities in IPS and settlement programmes Source: own editing

* – Step by Step programme

(Legend: - no cooperation; + weak cooperation; ++ strong cooperation; **NR** - not relevant, was the programme implementer or the organisation was not related to its work)

In the case of Jánoshida, strong cooperation with the local municipality, the kindergarten and local NGOs was established, based on the innovative approach of the municipality and the local public education institutions. Since the early 2000s, the stakeholders have been working together to introduce methodologies to strengthen quality education in the institutions, in line with the increase in the proportion of disadvantaged and severely disadvantaged and/or Roma children, and to combat the then emerging phenomenon of early school leaving. Cooperation was also required by the IPS framework, with a specific cooperation agreement and a division of tasks regarding each stakeholder. The municipality, as the school maintainer at the time, hoped to increase the retention capacity of educational establishments as one of the keys to the survival of small villages, and supported this with its own resources.

Weak links have been established with the local Roma national self-government, the child protection service, the guidance counsellor, the secondary school and the health visitor network. Cooperation with these organisations was formalised, with cooperation taking place on a case-by-case basis, either through the use of services provided by the partner organisation or, in the case of the Roma national self-government in particular, in relation to reaching out to Roma families.

No cooperation has been established with external experts (not including IPS experts), employment offices, external NGOs and the local church. The integration programme did

not require the involvement of external actors and was designed by the institution's staff based on local knowledge. The Directorate General for Equal Opportunities and its predecessor organisations were not involved in the implementation of the integration programmes, the professional coordination tasks were carried out by the NEIN².

Vizsoly shows a similar trend in the integration practices of educational institutions. The cooperation between the kindergarten and the school has been seamlessly implemented as a result of the programme, but the cooperation with other stakeholders no longer falls into the category of strong cooperation. Accordingly, weak cooperation has been established with the municipal government, the child protection service, the guidance counsellor, the secondary school and the health visitor network. The Roma national self-government can also be included in this category, but in their case the form and intensity of cooperation changed during the programme, moving from an initial mutual distrust to active cooperation. The background to this was a different perception of school work.

In the case of Pocsaj, the previous integration practice followed a particular path and proved to be fragile, despite the fact that at the time of its launch it was one of the first municipalities and institutions to launch integration support programmes. No strong cooperation was reported by the interviewees in the case of the settlement. Weak cooperation was reported between the local municipality, the primary school and the health service.

The same approach in the case of the settlement programmes has also led to the emergence of new actors. This type of programme requires a complex approach to development, which may not be present in the municipality, and it may therefore be relevant to involve an external actor possessing this type of knowledge. However, it should also be noted that, in my view, educational integration practices have necessarily developed this type of approach, so that their integration into settlement programmes seems an appropriate step. This assumption has not been confirmed in the case of the municipalities, different practices have emerged, but they point in the same direction in terms of their outcome: we have not identified patterns of cooperation that emerged as working practices after the integration programmes were concluded. Failure to do so also calls into question the sustainability of developments of these schemes.

For Jánoshida, the design of the settlement programme was carried out by an external expert. The preparation of a CSP requires a previous planning routine, its aspects are based on the logic of intervention in response to the needs expressed, i.e. to design interventions for the needs and service gaps that arise. A strong cooperation has been established with the external expert, an external NGO and a local NGO, joined by the municipality as the eligible applicant. Although formally these partnerships indicate strong links, it should be noted that during implementation the roles of the local and external NGOs were narrow. The external NGO provided technical support, while the local NGO was involved in reaching the target group of the programme, but typically its role was one of coordination

² National Education Integration Network

rather than technical development. These three organisations also formed the consortium for implementation.

In the course of cooperation, weak links have been established with the local Roma self-government, the labour office, local NGOs and the child protection service. In the case of the latter, the strength of cooperation changed during the implementation of the programme, from being led by this organisation in the earlier stages to no longer being led by it in the later stages of the programme, thus weakening the links with this organisation. This was the end of the cooperation, as no cooperation was established with other potential stakeholders, many of whom had been involved in the earlier educational integration processes. During implementation, most of the professional tasks were assigned to the municipality, but there were no suitable specialists available to carry them out, so the consortium leader contracted external service providers.

Following the logic of a settlement programme, programmes can be divided into three phases: planning; implementation and maintenance. The research showed that in the planning phase the process was led by external actors, in the implementation phase the consortium partners had different proportions and responsibilities, while in the maintenance phase there were no responsibilities for external and local civil society stakeholders, all of which represent additional work for the municipality that lacked professional resources.

In the case of Vizsoly, the cooperation within the settlement programme shows similar characteristics. In addition to the external expert, which was also a representative of an external NGO, the Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County branch of the General Directorate for Social Equal Opportunities (Társadalmi Esélyegyenlőségi Főigazgatóság, GDSEO) participated in the preparation and implementation of the programme as a consortium partner. The distribution of tasks between the different actors was asymmetric, mostly concentrated in the municipal government's hand and carried out with the involvement of external service providers. The GDSEO county organisation provided technical assistance during the implementation of the project and was responsible for the organisation and delivery of adult education courses, linked to its statutory tasks. The external NGO provided labour market services and community development activities and participated in technical consultations within the project. In the project content description, the Child Welfare Service, the Labour Office of the Government Office, the local NGO and the Roma National Self-government were the cooperating partners, participating in the implementation of the programme in accordance with the requirements of the Guidelines for Applicants. The local primary school was also included in the project's Community Intervention Plan, as an organisation that had previously carried out integration work in the settlement and therefore had this type of experience. The previous tasks were also listed among the collaborating partners, but according to the interviews, no cooperation was actually established during the implementation period, and therefore it was included in the category of no cooperation in our analysis. Other organisations that were not involved in the cooperation included the kindergarten and the secondary school, the guidance

counsellor, the child protection service and the local church. In the case of the churches, there are additional services in the settlement, the Reformed Church has children's home called "Biztos Kezdet" ('Secure start'), while the Hungarian Charity Service of the Order of Malta runs a presence centre in the settlement. This would lead the municipality in the direction of cooperation, but we have not seen any such activity. At the time of the survey, the settlement of just under 900 inhabitants had several parallel services available: the "Jelenlét-Pont" ('Presence Point'), the "Biztos Kezdet" Children's Centre, the Learning Centre and the Service Point and Community Centre set up under the settlement programme. The interviews suggested that, despite this, no transparent cooperation had been established between these institutions.

In the case of Pocsaj, the settlement programme was designed differently from the other two settlements, with the involvement of both local institutions and the target group at the planning stage, with external experts also brought in. The strong cooperation can be seen in the relations between the external experts, the municipal government, the external NGO and the local Roma National Self-government, which formed the consortium. Nevertheless, it is an informative observation that the membership of national minority self-government in the project consortium was by no means typical, and therefore the effort made here also served the sustainability aspects of the project. During the planning period, consortium partners also developed strong cooperation with local educational institutions (kindergarten, primary school), child protection services, local government and local NGOs. In terms of weak relationships, cooperation with the local employment office and the local church was also present but limited to formalities. The primary school also moved into this group during the implementation, which was only sporadically willing to cooperate during the project implementation, despite the fact that some of their comments made during the planning process were included as programme elements in the technical documentation. The county GDSEO organisation was also a weak collaborator, with which cooperation was limited to the level of mandatory data reporting. In the programme, the educational counsellor and the secondary school are not mentioned as cooperating partners, they do not have local actors, and the contact was primarily provided to the school age population through educational institutions.

In the case of Pocsaj, we have seen an attempt to create a well-established and planned scheme of cooperation, which has eroded during the course of implementation phase. This process may have been reinforced by the fact that during the municipal elections the leadership of the municipality and the composition of the Roma National Self-government changed, with new leaders replacing the former ones, which also affected the previously-established relations.

The cooperation started out from different grounds and with different practices in the three settlements, or was limited in the planning phase and did not continue to be built upon during implementation, or the initial cooperation was reduced or sometimes ended during implementation. However, regarding all three settlements, a relevant finding is that the local authorities were left to their own devices during the maintenance period, with no

involvement of the former consortium partners. In practice, this means that the mayor's offices in the small municipalities have to perform tasks for which their existing human resources are not available or are only partially available. However, it is clear that the project has not led to cooperation and on the ground, innovations that have been developed as a response to the segregated living contexts provided by the public education institutions had not been realised.

A key assumption of my research was that past practices in IPS and inter-professional cooperation in the social sector provide municipalities with a model and a method for cost-effective development of local community needs, institutional communication and local services. Where such cooperation remains at the level of formality, programmes operate in isolation and do not achieve the desired/expected development impact. The results of the research provided more nuanced support for this assumption. Practices related to integrated education were present in different forms in the settlements in the past, certain cooperation practices and experiences were developed, but we found that they were not integrated into the practice of the settlement programmes. This was clearly the case in two settlements. In the case of the third, although initially there were some attempts to develop cooperation, these were not materialised during the programme and did not meet the original objectives. No examples or models of inter-professional cooperation, a specific model of cooperation in the social sector, were found to have been adapted into the programme, and the delivery of social work itself was a major challenge for the implementers. The involvement of external professionals in this field also appeared to be a factor, making the programme more driven by the indicators rather than by the development objective sought to be achieved. The programmes were required to meet a number of indicators, so the involvement of stakeholders, the percentage of people trained or screened, etc., determined the content of the work rather than the rational use of capacity and the basis for subsequent professional cooperation. The cooperation, which is documented, thus remained a formality, without concrete commitments and results. The sectoral actors have performed the tasks that correspond to their own competencies: if they have appeared in the settlement programme, they have focused on specific tasks and less on the development of inter-sectoral cooperation.

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